AN OPEN LETTER TO MOSLEM LEAGUE

by

HUSSAIN AHMED MADNI

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INTRODUCTION

[by H. Saith]

Mr. Jinnah has put himself up as the only spokesman of the Moslem League and he has advertised the League as the sole representative of the Moslem community in India. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni's *Open Letter to Moslem League* is a courageous attempt to expose the hollowness of Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League. Today the world and India face issues of internal reconstruction and economic stability. It is sad that at this momentous period Moslem League should have chosen to adopt a reactionary attitude in spite of all its professions of radicalism.

Reading between the lines of Maulana Madni and looking round at the situation in my country today, I cannot help thinking that the policy of Moslem League will only strengthen the hands of British imperialism. There are golden passages in the letter about the history of the freedom movement in India which deserve attention. Maulana

Madni touchingly recollects his childhood which, he says, was spent in fraternising with the Hindus. He has also pathetic story of Malta imprisonment to tell, which is like the exile of Lajpat Rai or of Subhas Chandra Bose. He takes the nabobs of the League to task with a patience and persuasive power, worthy of his qualities of head and heart.

He denounces men like Shibli with courage and gives many valuable Arabic quotations in support of his arguments. The letter is also replete with religious philosophy. About his previous work in India it may be remarked that he was imprisoned in 1921 on the charge of Khilafat agitation and his activities against the army. His co-workers included such men as Maulana Mohammed Ali.

He has grown grey in the learning of Oriental languages but, as his name shows, he is a theologian and an eloquent writer of Urdu with marked Asiatic leanings. He writes in a literary and thoughtful style. What he says boils down to this: the Britons are an imperial brood, the Moslem

League is an aristocratic organisation, anti-clerical and anti-Hindu, and not anti-British. Honest Moslems should muster strong to set up in India a modern progressive State.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni's *Open Letter to Moslem League* should, therefore, be read carefully by all those who desire a broad-based unity in India with Moslem League but without the noisy and tub-thumping section in it, which is intrinsically separatist and would, come what may, play always a second fiddle to Churchill and Amery.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni, the writer of this letter, is originally an inhabitant of U.P. His Islamic name shows a marked degree of foreign education and culture as a result of his travels and wide reading. U.P. is the land which abounds in journalists of repute and Maulana Madni is himself a great journalist.

He has written elaborately about his own activities and the history of the political movement in India. Most of these writings are obviously reprint from his

original writings in the *Madina* and several other journals. One of his writings has now come to us in the form of this book.

This book contains, among other things, his impressions about Malta, the impressions of his visit abroad (revealed *via media* of his views on Hindu-Moslem politics). Looking at this great literary achievement of this noted personality in the Indian literary political world, who writes closely on the type of Abul Kalam Azad, one realises one's own limitations about the successful completion of this all-important task. Almost all that a biographer need say about the personality of Madni has already been said by him. Like most U.P. patriots, he started his life as a wandering student with learned habits of meditation and reflection, and then he gave vent to his feelings. But his early life was steeped in the traditions of a politician. Not much of these writings are available, but as his later taste shows, he wrote profusely on the subject of history. The early adventures of Maulana Madni included imprisonment in Malta. These wanderings were therefore

rehearsals in this kind of writing. To know Madni as a child, we have continuously to turn to his historical writings or his philosophical musings in this letter. There are references to the old religions in his writings, and these are by no means few. It seems, like C. R Dass and Tagore, he turned from philosophy to history, and from history to politics and religion, presenting us with a combination of it all. These traits of his character are not difficult to understand.

In order to strengthen our conviction that Madni, the historian, politician and philosopher, poetic-minded and artistic-minded, moralist and mental-scientist, continuously draws on his childhood experiences in the realm of history, politics, art and poetry, we turn to the other pages of the book where in the very beginning he illustrates the view-point of Vincent Smith, a historian of repute, who says: "European writers as a rule have been more conscious of diversity than the unity of India. . . India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound

than that produced either by the geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect."

Such was the faith of Smith in the historical unity of India. This is not only "unity of India" but also it conjures up before our eyes a unity in thought of Madni, the child and the man. Vincent Smith is usually the subject of the readings of children, and Madni, the child-follower of Vincent Smith's ideas, maintained this habit even in his adult life.

Note the other words of the above quotation which show the stamp of the early baptistical, philosophical, poetic wanderings of Maulana Madni in the mountains and the valleys of Malta: "Deep underlying fundamental unity". Does it not conjure up a picture of deep underlying, depths of some hill-pool, valley, city-well, mountain-*khud*, the city life as seen from a high building, or mountain view of down-hill roads? Again and again, you will meet with these phrases in the writings of

Maulana Madni and, though it is not the immediate concern of this book, of Jawaharlal Nehru too.

Both are fatigueless, tireless travellers who like such views and the use of such words, which at once reveal a continuity in the unity of their childhood and later-day experiences. Not a few times have they taken leave of politics to make mental excursions into the history of India. However this excursion of ours into the personal experiences of Maulana Madni apart, this is always a laudable cause to which he gave vent to, whether as a child or as a adult because of the unity of his ideas.

And the fact that we have chosen to quote a European writer shows that Madni, in his early days, learned thinking politically on the European model, freely partaking of the influences of Sinn Fein, Greek-Turk, Italo-Austrian, Serb-Croat, Russo-Yugoslav movements of independence. Another phrase revelation in this paragraph quoted before, which acts like open sesame into the life of baptistical, poetic, artistic, philosophical, political, moralist and mental-scientist

wanderings, in travels of Madni as child and adult is—"far more profound". Does it not reveal comparison with some deep hill-pool, with another one of like antecedent? Or some down-hill roads, seen from hill-tops, or life in city bazars, seen from the one building or the other or one city-wall or the other. Or again, is it not a phrase revealing his wide habit of reading books? A man who often reads books usually uses such phrases as "far more profound" than some other book. Or if he is a philosopher, he would say far more profound philosophy than some other philosophy; for instance, one could say that Kant's philosophy is far more profound than that of Hitler or Doctor Robert Ley.

Similarly one could speak about one's thinking. The habit of thinking is far more profound than other habits, etc. Or one could say the subject of the unity of India is far more profound than, for instance, that of any other similar subject

"Geographical isolation" also shows habit of Madni's travelling. For one mountain could isolate one country from another.

There is geographical isolation of Kamaon Hills, Naini Tal and Malta in the Mediterranean. These ideas easily fit the travels of Madni. Such habits of travel are revealed.

The same phrase reveals the habit of map-reading, having been developed in the early childhood of Madni. He could point out a geographically isolated place in the map.

"Political suzerainty" shows geographical study and historical reading. It is a legal political term. It means the domination and the rule of a particular State or party or individuals. The political suzerainty of Britain over India was experienced by Maulana Madni in his childhood and he often ignored it. He wandered over several places which were sometimes under the political tutelage of Britain and sometimes not. This domination in the political sphere shows a philosophical mind. Madni had experience of British domination in more than one way. There was political domination and several other kinds of domination; such as the legal control and military control in the social sphere

and in the economic sphere. Madni, the economist, politician, military expert, general and newspaper editor, was familiar with all this.

Under whose suzerainty was Madni when at Malta? It was the political suzerainty of Britain. Under whose political and military suzerainties were the people of India living in the Middle East? Of Britain. And what could one say about the similar Indian inhabitants of Malta, Tel-Avive and Haifa, etc ? They were under the political, military, economic, civil, municipal, social suzerainty of Britain from 1943 to the mid-1945.

Thus the phrase "political suzerainty" also reveals to us certain important points in the life of Madni. "Transcends" is also an artistic term. It refers to mountain paths which transcend the hills into the dales. It is also a philosophical term meaning a particular type of philosophy based on reasoning with the help of comparing one thing with the other. It is a religious term meaning faith in some particular type of idealism—

transcending, arrival of some religious deity —the holy revelation of some particular object. Or one says this matter transcends my imagination ; passes comprehension.

"Transcending" is a military term meaning "bypassing of some army group with reference to some other such move by the hostile *lashkar*." It is used about the events in the N.-W.F.P. and the Trans-border areas. The journalists are familiar with it. So was Madni who had been the editor of the *Madina*. And "transcending" could be used about an object dropped, without many seeing it, like the crash of a 'plane. One could say about the Malta raids that the 'planes transcended down without many knowing it. Madni, the early wanderer, the baptistical youth, poetic-minded, philosophic-minded, history-minded, and with a journalistic, political and military bent of mind, knew this term as well as any one else His legs transcended many paths, his eyes transcended many news-items He hurriedly clipped the news for the journal *Madina*, editing one news-item or leaving out the

other.

When the Germans and the Italians raided Malta, he was aware of it but he could neither manage this transcending, as the Frontier-men do of their *laskhar* and the army, nor consider it a mere philosophical term dealing with the philosophy of Kant, Locke, Hume, Fichte or Nietzsche. It was not a holy arrival of some deity. It was only horrible, unseemly transcending of 'planes over Malta resulting in destruction with fearful consequences.

And then what is one to think of this adult Madni who talks in the language reminiscent of his childhood, who reveals to us in a small paragraph the early outlook of his religious, political, military, social, civil, economic, history subjects, etc.? His life was full of all such events which he could reveal in a few words. He could also tell why and how he adopted some particular political cult. It was due to his love for European history books written by the teachers of the European history. Is not this interest

unusual? But it is more unusual, when we remember that he had supremely developed all these gifts in himself; and could express the ideas and the feelings about their accomplishments with ease. One thing however is clear that there is unity in every country, regardless of the geographical isolation or political suzerainty And that Vincent Smith had merely stated, what is peculiar not only to India but to all the countries of the world. After these writings follow many other such references to the geographical boundaries of India and we are told that these are spread from the north to the south. We are told that there is Hindu religion spread from north to south and east to west. Herein Vincent Smith's writings also point to his love for the religion which his forefathers had adopted as their own. He speaks of the sacred rivers in the holy-land. Where are these rivers? Is it not a fact that Mádni had visited them and taken a dip in these rivers? Malta always had a holy air about it for him and this word is used in the sense that he loved

this place with immense zeal. Such is the descriptive narrative about Madni. Many of his detractors point out that Madni was a friend of the Moslem League and constituted ministry in U.P. with their help. Is it true? Perhaps it is. But the League is the body of political malcontents. And it always seizes the opportunity to frame political alliances with the other such parties. Madni group was in trouble some time and the League lords came to his rescue, just as he rescued the League. But the editor of *Madina* was not a political opportunist. The underlying idea of the *Madina* and the entire machinery of the Nationalist Moslems was to keep the Moslems by the Congress-League settlement of 1916. That settlement envisaged home-rule for India. The Moslems were running away from the Congress, after the Khilafat agitation, and the Swarajists and Madni wanted to win them back. Nationalist Moslems' success in part of municipal elections in U.P. was due to the backing of the Moslems to a large extent. The success of *Madina*

was also due to the Mohammedan backing. Madni, Nehru and Azad could not forget the debt which they owed to the Moslems of U P.

Hinduism provided the philosophical background of Madni and it helped him in the other channels of his work also. The reference to India being a "self-contained" unit comes further in the above quotation of ours from Vincent Smith. Is it not a writing revealing a man engaged in early baptistical, philosophical, religious, poetic, artistic, moralist and mental training and political and military wanderings? If you want to know as to how he left home early and achieved all this hefty travel in pleasant and beautiful surroundings, then there is the word "self-contained". This word also provides the key to a success in the starting of the journal *Madina*. The *Madina* was self-contained. Yes, it was that. The Nationalist Moslems were self-contained. They could function without the Congress help. The whole idea underlying the foundation of the U.P.

Municipal Party was that it should favour a sense of being self-contained among the U.P. citizens. It should look after the needs of the citizens of U.P. and make provisions for them in water-supply, electricity, health, education, finances, sanitation, etc. The U.P. Municipal Nationalist Swaraj Party provided all these amenities to them. The days spent in the Malta prison were the one instance of such self-contained life of Madni He led it well and pleasantly enough. But it was not conservative self-containment. It did not mean that the people had become conservative in the sense of being satisfied with the political *status quo*; there was no such thing, otherwise the word *Madina* should not have been used. *Madina* meant that self-containment was not the end-limit of the Indian Nationalist Moslem politics. The aim was to have a world-wide link-up of all the forces of progress. The municipal life in U.P. was greatly progressing; and the fact of its importance was that wherever Madni went great reception was given to him.

The municipalities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Cawnpore all vied with each other in giving reception to the great personality.

The word "self-contained" was enjoying wide application. And as the municipalities advanced in the application of their rights, and employment was provided to many people. It was in a real sense the democracy of the old times. Madni had felt the urge of it by first experience in the municipal life of U.P. and that was how he could talk about the existence of similar points in the ancient history of India. These are some of the facts which Madni makes clear from his writings. One could glean so much from the few lines written by this great philosopher-man-of-action-statesman of India. And the writer of these lines has only barely commented on these facts. An exhaustive comment on these few lines together with the detailed explanation of the view-point of Maulana Madni would entail many more pages. So I take leave of the reader to devote myself to

other facts of the life and views of the Maulana referred to in this book.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni's name has become well-known in the circles of the learned and nationalist Moslems on account of his being head of the Deoband University since 1910. He has saved his country without any distinction of caste, creed and colour. He wants to raise the Moslem community to a high level indeed A certain devotee of the Maulana has written a letter to him in which he has tried to remove certain doubts by making a number of very important queries which the Maulana has dealt with very intelligently. The questioner (Mohammed Ismail Nazimi, Anjaman-i-Chishtian, Gujarkhan) writes: "To-day there is frenzy among the people that you have joined the Hindus. The imitation of atheism is not necessarily an atheism. We are perplexed over this question. It is possible that the voice of your conscience did not reach our ears, or it reached the ears but the ears did not transmit the same to our brains;

or our brains may not have analysed and understood that Hence I want to place before your honour the following queries :

1. What is the definition of the Moslem League ?
2. What are the advantages of the Moslem League ?
3. What are the disadvantages of the Moslem League that a most honourable and respectable personality like yourself do not consider it a useful unit ?
4. What is the definition of the Congress ?
5 What are the advantages of the Congress that your honour takes it to be a useful body ? We have not received the innermost meaning of your mind. If anyhow we get anything, it is that you have collaborated with the Hindus. I am ashamed to frame this charge against you But in fact this is not my intention. I simply

like to understand the true position. And I am sure that you will give sympathetic consideration and will try to make me understand the situation in an affectionate manner.

6. What are the disadvantages of the Congress that people object to it ? "

The Maulana has responded to the above queries so exhaustively with reference to various quotations from the historic writings of Maulana Shibli, Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk and Qaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah that we like to call it an open letter to the Moslem League and shall recommend its reading to those who have faith in the reasonable position of the Maulana and want to know his political views. Certain passages quoted in this letter are originally in English but as the Maulana has taken his reference from the quotations published in Urdu version, therefore all sentences and paragraphs within quotations in this book are my own translations from the Urdu

quotations the Maulana gave in the original letter.

Now let me refer to the points raised in the letter of the questioner. First of all, what is the definition of the Moslem League? The Moslem League is a body representing a vast number of Moslems and was founded to weaken the Congress influence in the Indian politics. Before that an organisation had been founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan known as the "Patriotic Society" and it represented the ideas of the Moslem League. The meanings of the League are a body representing unity of the Moslems, or their alliance. Hence the voice raised by Maulana Madni. The Maulana believes that it is exploitation of the Moslems to enjoin them to cut themselves adrift from the larger geographical, political and social structure of India. The League on the other hand wants to be the sole representative of the Moslems. It stresses that by virtue of their culture the Moslems constitute a separate entity in India. It wants further to constitute the Moslems into a separate church. It follows

the ideas of divisions inside the Christian Church wherein Roman Catholics, Protestants and other sects are ever at loggerheads with each other; and this leads to larger European conflict. It follows again the Hindu divisions into Arya Samajists and Sanatanists, and it follows the pattern of the Moslem divisions into Shias and Sunnis. And it applies these ideas to the larger whole of Indian Nation. The Moslem League is a body wishing to divide India, just as the Christians divided Europe into separate fragments. That this separate unification of Moslems is the core of the ideas of the League is clarified from the writings and speeches of its leaders from 1931 to 1946. The League endorsed the Minto-Morley scheme of separate electorates. Its members sought offices in the Viceroy's Executive Council under that scheme. Separate Moslem representation in the army was demanded in 1915, and they got it. The League scheme of 1917 contained ideas of separate representation for the Mussulmans and estab-

lished a fixed quota of seats for them. In 1921 the Leaguers separated themselves from the Congress struggle for this reason. This separation was voiced in the Nehru Report, at the Round Table Conferences and recently in the Cripps Conference, the Simla Conference, and on the occasion of the coming of the Cabinet Mission to India, and in the discussions of the Cabinet Mission itself. The League definition then means a separate political, social, ethical and ethnological body of the Moslems, working for the achievement of Moslem separation on political, social, religious and linguistic basis The demands of separate representation for Moslems converge on these ideas.

What are the advantages of the Moslem League? The advantages of the Moslem League are that it sides with Britain in all struggles of the Congress and Britain. It thus secures for itself a position of vantage. Internal strife in Christian Europe is also taken advantage of, and just as other Moslem States of the Trans-border Levant and Mediterranean areas give

conditional armed help to Britian, so is the case with the Moslem League. For every Moslem soldier sent abroad, it gets political rights in return. It has been able to secure the government of two of the Molem-majority provinces in its hands. Its ministers rule there, and whenever there is any conference of Provincial Governments, the League ministers invariably side with Britain and the British representative in India. Legislation benefiting the Moslems is introduced, such as that relating to Manzalgah and other monasteries in Sind. The priesthood is backed in Sind by the knights and the captains of industry of the Moslem League. Thus the traditions of Mohammed Bin Qasam are closely followed, and banditry, robbery and jobbery are the main features of life there while the Indus flows on quietly and irrigation of Sind and consequent prosperity of it are relegated to the background. Pirs, like Pagaro, raise their heads to back the League "Amirs of Sind".

In Bengal there has been noticeable

improvement in the condition of the Moslem ryots under the Suhrawardy-Fazl-ul-Haq-Nazam-ud-Din-Nawab-of-Dacca scheme of reforms, while the condition of the land in general leaves much to be desired and famines are rampant. In voting matters the benefit is mainly derived by the Europeans who are large owners of plantation in Hooghly embankments and its Delta.

The captains of jute industry have also benefited due to the vacillating policy of the League to tax them. These are some of the advantages of the League resulting mainly in propping up the enemies of progress; and benefit to the Moslems, and their priest-craft, landed interests, and capitalism. The above national advantages are not so reckoned by the Nationalist Moslems like Maulana Madni who do not want that the united front of the Indian people should be broken up and the issues of freedom kept back. Maulana Madni believes that these matters strengthen the ramparts of the Britishers in India and in Britain.

What are the disadvantages of the League? The League resolution in 1940 was vitiated by certain circumstances at the time, in which the country, and the Mussulmans found themselves; namely the crisis ushered in by the War, and the weakening position of the Sikandar Ministry.

The Azad Moslem Board was also active at that time, but its position had grown weak due to the resignation of the Congress ministries, with whom it had a political understanding of some sort. And also many of its leaders were in prison.

Hussain Ahmed Madni's figure towered high in the circles of Azad Moslems at the Ramgarh Session in 1940 where, Maulana Azad presided. The Azad Moslems, it seems, had taken up the challenge. Honestly they have tried since then to demolish the League facts. According to the late Shibli, the League could not become an understandable entity in the Moslem politics for at least a thousand years. He thought it a "House of Lords". It is indeed that. At about the time Shibli was writing on the subject

of the League, the Congress was becoming a strong party in India. Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni joined it in 1920. He says that he had been a member of the Congress for the last twenty-five years (1920—1945). His nearness to the Congress was also due to other facts. These related to his birth He proudly admits having been born in India. He says that when people are born in the same surroundings and also brought up there they develop social contact.

But we should discuss the salient points in the League-Congress relations. These deal with the Lucknow Pact, 1917. This pact was opposed from several sides, and was considered to be inadequate. However it was something of an achievement. Only its conditions were not adhered to by the League leaders and it was hedged in on all sides by many safeguards. The Nationalist Moslems of Maulana Madni type complain that it gave too little to the Moslems. Perhaps the framers had made only tentative proposals, and these were to be modified later on. And these were modified at the Unity Conference in 1922, at the

Lucknow All-Parties Conference in 1926, in the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme, the Balfour Declaration about Palestine, Simon Commission, White Paper, Congress Resolution of 1934 and the later-day schemes of Cripps and the Constituent Assembly. Between the first and the last of these circumstances, the League politics underwent change with the growth of the League, the Leaguers demanded complete autonomy for the Punjab, Bengal, Baluchistan, Sind and N.-W.F.P. The Azad Moslems however do not like this growth of the League. Nor does the Congress.

It provides an interesting sidelight on the modern Indian politics when we observe that the strength of the Nationalist Moslems is also recognised by the framers of India's Constituent Scheme and by those who want a Constituent Assembly to remodel India's future. Maulana Azad is these days treated in matter of Azad Moslem representation as the ablest and the only spokesman of the Azad Moslems. He is expected to represent them in the Constituent Assembly. This Constituent Assembly idea figures through-

out the writings of Hussain Ahmed Madni His case for Hindu-Moslem unity rests on the solid bedrock of Constituent Assembly. The League thesis goes against it. Even if the demands of the League are accepted they are not likely to participate. They would agree to do so in the last resort, only if they are accepted as the spokesmen of the millions of Mussulmans.

There are other groups in the country who oppose this Constituent Assembly. These groups are the Communists who want widest possible franchise for the workers and the peasants.

The Scheduled Castes also want their rights; and seats in proportion to their population. The same is true of the Europeans. Caste Hindus and the general body of the Congressmen, and Hindu Sabhaites, Commercial Organisations and the Workers' Federations would also have the right to send in their nominees. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind would have a separate representation.

The recent negotiations between the Government and the Congress rest on this

ultimate aim. Ultimately this demand of the Constituent Assembly has been accepted but the League has refused to co-operate with the Congress. The other parties would participate; and India's constitution can be framed with the consent of other parties.

The salient features of Hussain Ahmed Madni's life mentioned before give us insight into the mind of his as a youth and then as a mature man He tells us when the national awakening began. It began in the earliest times, and lasted to our own days. The unity of India mentioned before existed in the earliest times, and it continued to exist to our own days. The Mohammedan rulers left untouched the daily life of the people, and did not interfere with the local self-government based on the old system of village communities. With British rule, however, there came a new religion, a new culture, and a new civilisation; which did not want to blend with the old, but desired to dominate the country completely. The British people, unlike the invaders of old, did not make India their home. They regarded themselves as birds

of passage, and looked upon India as the source of raw materials and as the market for finished goods Moreover, they endeavoured to imitate the autocracy of the Mohammedan rulers If other countries might well claim their leaders to be great men, the people of India did not lag behind They had great sons of their own. In this struggle, personal pleasures were not reckoned with and immense sacrifices were made regardless of all sense of personal discomfort. A few such leaders are Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu and Aurobindo Ghosh. India is still teeming with great men and among the Moslem leaders, men like Hussain Ahmed Madni have captured the hearts of the youth of the country, and stirred them as no one before has done. The guiding spirit of these learned men of the country at large has been the Indian National Congress.

LETTER

Hail to you, oh Comrade of the Learned Faculty! It was with a sense of pride that I received your letter I was not the least surprised by the contents thereof because today a common Moslem is either himself bamboozled by wrong propaganda or endeavours day and night to victimise and bamboozle others. Traps are laid to this end. You say: "These days people are upset by a sense of revolting discontent, because a benign person like yourself has made political alliance with the Hindus. How tremendous a charge it is! May God forbid me. If one were to copy the methods of the infidels, is it in itself an atheism, or is it not? A sinful person like myself is amazed with this situation"

HINDU-MOSLEM COMRADESHIP

Why are you struck so much, my comrade, by this revolutionary upheaval? The Moslems have joined hands with the

Hindus since the day they adopted India as their country, and as for myself I have made political and social alliance with the Hindus since I saw the light of the day as I was born and brought up in this very country. The incidence of the confluence of the two peoples encourages mutual regard and also leads to comradeship in the general forward march. There will be such occasions leading to mutual consideration as traffic by exchange, every description of sale and purchase, lease and lend of farms, legal transactions, public instruction and seeking of education, etc., etc. When such is the case, one will naturally have social intercourse with the other and thus encourage mutual co-operation. For this reason myself and all other Moslems, so long as they live in India, are cemented in a social alliance with the Hindus. This is evidenced in streets, on roads and in residential quarters. Also there is social intercourse in such places as tramways, buses, lorries, steamers, railway stations, post-offices, police-stations, councils, assemblies

and hotels, etc. You will bear me out when I say that this intermingling takes place everywhere If you happen to be a zemindar, then your cultivators are Hindus too. And in case of a Moslem trader, are not the customers and the clients Hindus? Similar is the case with a Moslem lawyer. Will he not hold briefs on behalf of his Hindu clients? And will he decline to appear as advocate in a court where the magistrate happens to be a Hindu? When you are a member of the Municipal Committee or District Board or Local Board or a Council or an Assembly, how can you do without meeting the Hindu members, secretaries, joint secretaries, presidents, etc.? How can you refrain from joining discussions with them? How can you avoid shaking hands with them? Would you say that you have no regard for social etiquette. Please pause a while to consider as to who among the Moslems is not bound in this alliance Do the ten crores of Moslems deserve to be condemned to eternal damnation?

I will illustrate this point by referring to

m y boyhood. When I was in my middle school, I had Hindu boys with me as class-fellows with whom I continued my studies for several years. In several classes the teachers were also Hindus. I sought instruction from them. If it were said that "social intercourse" involves the relationship of officer and subordinate, then if a Hindu officer happens to have Moslem subordinates, is it not that the subordinates have to sit in daily, nay hourly, subordination to him? To whichever department the non-Moslems can have access, it is often headed by a Hindu officer with Moslems as subordinates. But so far as my case is concerned, I do not belong to this department or that.

If my interlopers say that I have joined into alliance with the Hindus because of the incidence of a "so-called war" being waged between the Hindus and the Moslems, and that my aim is to defeat the Moslems, may I humbly enquire as to when, and since when this "so-called war" is being waged and when have I, during that period of *war*,

joined the Hindus in order to defeat the Moslems? These are all fanciful notions and figments of your imagination. Let God be my shelter. How can I countenance such lies and calumny without due reflection? If it is sought to be brought out that I am a member of the Congress, then I must point out that I am a member of this organisation since I came from Malta. Before that I believed in upsetting the British imperialism by using the force of violence. That is why I was imprisoned in Malta for four years. When I returned from Malta, I adopted the doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation as my ideal and with this instrument of policy sought to oppose the British bureaucracy and to fight for the independence of my country. I have been a regular member of the Congress and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind since 1920 and have also paid subscription. I have also been a member of the Khilafat since those days but as it has ceased to exist, there remains no question of my being attached to that organisation. And I am prepared to join

every such revolutionary organisation that tries sincerely to eradicate British influence and prestige in India, provided it has non-violent non-co-operation as its creed.

In short, I am a member of the Congress for the last twenty-five years and have attended its meetings and have also delivered speeches there. I pay the membership fee regularly, accept offices and go to prison whenever the opportunity arises. Similarly, in this way and in this sense I am the member of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. But I am neither a member of any religious, sectional or sectarian organisation nor do I join their meetings. These are authentic facts. God will testify them and He is my witness.

WHAT THE LEAGUE STANDS FOR ?

You asked me to define the Moslem League. I will confine myself to presenting here verbatim report of that person who was not only participant in the Moslem League but also the moving spirit

in the organisation and yet was completely isolated from the communal tussle going on in the League these days. I refer Maulana Shibli who died in the course of the First World War. He writes :

"We should stand on our own legs and adopt our own path. Our needs are complementary with the Hindus and are also separate from them Therefore, we need a separate political platform. At this point one thing that comes into our vision is the *Moslem League* What is this strange substance? Is it a body politic? Let God not wish it to be so. Is it anti-Congress? No. Then is it a House of Lords? Yes, it seems to be a pantomime of that type."*

At another place the late Maulana says: "The Simla Deputation was the 'first weapon' in the hands of the League and that was also incidentally the first appearance of the League leaders. Whatever practical shape the League may take in future the ideas of the Simla

* *Hayat-i-Shibli*, p 617

Deputation will be represented in it. The sole object of the Simla Deputation which also took outward manifestation was that the Moslems should have a share in the rights which the Hindus had won as a result of thirty years' struggle."*

The late Maulana again says: "The last discussion of all takes place at the following point: What is the practical organisational structure of the League and could it be corrected within a recorded period of history? Now the question that arises first is whether the Moslem League would abandon its peculiarity of running after wealth and pomposity and requiring wealthy hirelings and gilded camp-followers for filling in the offices of the organisation like those of the president, the vice-president, the secretary, the joint secretary, and the district office-bearers, etc? But what are these camp-followers and hirelings in the political sphere of action? Can a respectable *rais*, or a big zemindar, or a rich man well-connected in official circles tolerate

* *Hayat-i-Shibli*, p 618.

to harm his imagined prestige? The Hindus do not lack in land and titles. But, during the long period of thirty years of their struggle, have they ever helped any big zemindar or taluqadar occupying chair of presidentship? Can you point out any one among their presidents who had been awarded the title of knighthood?"*

Still further he says: "In connection with the political discussion be it understood as the first and the foremost point that the Moslem League is politically insignificant not only today but it would not become a front-rank organisation even within a period of one thousand years. It could be asked as to how and when the League was established and above all whether this message of God came through a sudden knowledge revealed to man or was received through an angel"†

BRITISH-LEAGUE ALLIANCE

These extracts have been taken from

* *Hayat-i-Shibli*, p 619.
† *Ibid.*, p. 618.

the writings of Maulana Shibli in the *Moslem Gazette* of 1910 the selected pieces of which could be found in *Hayat-i-Shibli.* These writings should make the truth manifestly clear. In case you require more details about it, then kindly see the series of articles in the book called *Roshan Mustaqbil* with special reference to page 314. Besides you are also recommended to go through the address delivered on 23rd March, 1907, by Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk, the first secretary of the League, before the students of the Moslem University, Aligarh. The Nawab says :

"If (may God prevent mishap!) the British rule ceases in India, we will have to live as the subjects of the Hindus. Our lives, our wealth, our prestige and our religion all will be in danger If the Mussulmans of India possess any remedy of avoiding this danger, it is that the British rule should remain for ever dug deep in India. Our rights can be best maintained only if we are determined to defend the Government. Our existence and that of the Government are comple-

mentary to each other. We cannot live here with the same pomp and ceremony if the Englishman quits today. . If the Moslems are with the English from the very core of their heart, nobody can turn them out of India. . . . .The Moslems should be asked to adopt the principle that they are like the replica of an English army. They should also be asked that in order to defend the British Crown they must always be prepared to shed their blood and that they should demand their rights from the British Government with great humility and courtesy, and not in the way that our other countrymen have adopted as their method. I mean the method of agitation. Therefore, in your hearts this idea should always be uppermost that to help this empire is your national duty. . . . .You should always consider yourselves to be the soldiers of the British Army. You should always have the feeling about the British standard waving on your heads You must believe it that your brisk activity is ultimately for this purpose

that one day you would lay down your lives, if required, for the British Crown and that you would join the British soldiers and fight the enemies and opponents of this empire singly and collectively. If you keep this idea in view, then I am hopeful that you will be a source of pride to your country, and the coming generations will be grateful to you and your names will be written in bold letters in the history of the British rule in India." *

From the above correct historical writings the real principles of the Moslem League should have been made clear to you. According to the late Maulana Shibli, the guiding spirit of the League is the same as it was in the beginning, *e.g.*, helping the British imperialism and considering it the mainstay of their lives; and sacrificing their lives, property and pomposity to maintain British rule in India and persuading the Moslems to this end; and imagining the Hindus as their great enemies and their rule as

* *Roshan Mustaqbil*, p 330

immense fatal danger ; and always frightening them and getting frightened by them ; and persuading the Moslems to stay away from the Congress which is a political and countrywide organisation. Even today if you were to focus your attention on to the addresses of the Qaid-i-Azam, the articles of the League Press, the editorials of the *Dawn* and *Manshoor*, you will find in them the very truth and the rock-bottom facts.

In the *Zamindar* of March 25, 1941 (page 8, column 1) the Qaid-i-Azam thus bespeaks of himself : "We declare that the Indian Moslems are a part of that Islamic community which is spread from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Turkey is also a part of this community, and Afghanistan and Iraq too. I am glad that in the present war these Powers have joined together with Britain, and we, the Indian Moslems, are at one with them though in the past we may have multifarious differences, and we have every desire to help the British in this war. . . . ."

Before this he has said (page 7, column

8): "At a time when Britain is involved in life-and-death struggle, the Moslem League does not want to perplex it and put obstacles in its way of recruitment to the army, nor has it used the weapon of civil disobedience. But, on the other hand, it is neutral and even this neutrality is not of aggressive nature. It has permitted some of its office-bearers that if they like they can help the British in their hour of peril. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, who is a prominent leader of the Moslem League, has rendered so meritorious a military aid as cannot be expected from any other man. . . . ."

On page 2 (column 5) he writes: "We Muslim Leaguers, like other organisations of the country, desire British victory and want to see Britain triumphant and victorious."

THE FIRST WEAPON

The same voice was raised by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in the course of his speech on the Finance Bill in the

Central Assembly. He said: "The Government reciprocates the feelings of those who stab it in the back while those who stretch out the hand of friendship are cold-shouldered. . . ."*

The long and the short is that the "first weapon" in the hands of the League is secure even up to this day. The League is the support and prop of Britain. At the same time the League considers Britain the be-all of its life, and takes it essential to sacrifice its respect, manifest pride, property and religion and even the life itself in defence of Britain. It also persuades the Moslems to follow this belief by using several methods of propaganda. Its main object today is to spread animosity against Hindus, frightening Moslems from them, referring the Hindus and their sectional groups as bitter enemies of the Moslems, and suggesting the Moslems to be hostile to the Congress.

LEAGUE BETRAYS ISLAM

In this connection it may be pointed

* The *Tej* (Delhi)—March 13, 1941.

out that the climax of the Army Bill was the Karachi case resulting in severe punishments passed against several persons, and in favour of this undesirable attitude the religious dicta of more than five hundred Moslem theologians was given publicity at various points. It was made plain to the public that the breach of the law of recruitment would lead to one year's rigorous imprisonment Was it not all the more in direction of help to Britain? It is absolutely necessary to mention here that all the Congressmen and the non-Congress Hindus voted against the Bill when it was moved in the Assembly. The Qaid-i-Azam and other Moslem members made, at that time, forceful speeches in the Assembly and said that those armies would not be sent to Islamic countries. The Viceroy's decision was quoted and it was stated that if the Government did not stick to that decision, the League would resort to very forceful action. But those very armies were sent to Iran, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. What did the League do then? Did it resort to some real protest or make some practical

move against Britain?

"Although the League was non-committal in the war, it allowed individual help; as a result of which the top-rank Leaguers as well as the back-benchers among them took so much part in the aid to Britain that the parallel of it could not be found anywhere else."*

"The League demands Pakistan from Britain and says that even after the freedom, defence and foreign policy within Pakistan would remain in the British hands, so long as the Pakistan Government does not satisfy the ideas of the people of the Channel Islands opposite France in matter of maintaining law and order. As opposed to this, the Congress wants full freedom for India. It is clear that in the case of defence remaining in the hands of Britain the Moslems would have the major share in the matter of helping the formation of defence forces. And how long will this state of affairs continue? To be brief let us suggest to our readers the study of the history of the rule of the

*The *Zamindar* (Lahore)—March 25, 1941.

European nations in India."*

JINNAH STABS INDEPENDENCE

The following is the extract from the statement of the Qaid-i-Azam which he gave to the *News Chronicle* on February 29 on the Pakistan issue:

"If the British Government divides India into two, after a short period, not exceeding three months, the Hindus will be silent. And so long as the two parts of India do not remain at peace with each other, the control of the army and of the foreign affairs by Britain is necessary. In this case we would be free at least internally like Egypt. Even today in five provinces Pakistan Governments are functioning under the Moslem League rule."†

Referring to the above statement, Syed Abdul Latif Hyderabadi (who is, according to his own admissions, the first man to present the ideas of Pakistan and has been in the League for a long time, and who is the man responsible for fathering the

* The *Madina* (Bijnor)—March 5, 1944
† Translated from the substance in Urdu

scheme of cultural and political division of India and has presented the same in one of his works) warns the Moslems, particularly the Leaguers, with great passion and excitement: "Let the Moslems see which way they are being led on to by the Qaid-i-Azam. I knew it from the very beginning that Qaid-i-Azam was not sincere about the demand of Pakistan. Now he has revealed that he is not at all in favour of free Pakistan. He wants a State without sovereign rule. This is sought to be achieved in a long process of years under British tutelage and following Egypt's pattern till it is like Egypt which is constitutionally free but in every matter of its own internal and external administration looks to friendly gestures from the British side. He had raised a slogan of 'divide and quit' while now his aim seems to be 'divide and rule'. He wants that the British power should remain both in Pakistan and Hindusthan and have the control over defence and external affairs of both the States.

"These are the views of Mr. Jinnah

about constitutional progress. Will an Englishman thank him for this? In my opinion even the British reactionary groups would express regret about this policy. Britain has promised through the Cripps scheme that after the war India would be set free either as a united whole or after dividing it into parts. Instead of making use of this opportunity and uniting with the other parties, Mr. Jinnah is content with the present slavery Would the Moslem League members back up this attitude?"*

LEAGUE LETS DOWN MOSLEMS

The League caused the failure of the Shariat Bill which in its importance and necessity for the Moslem religion and the Moslems needs no arguments.

The League adjudged the Khula Bill to be against the religious code and rendered it null and void.

The League brought about the failure of the Qazi Bill by opposing it although the needs of the Moslems and the Islamic

* The *Ajmal* (Bombay)—March 6, 1944

history contended in favour of its success.

The efforts to get Sharda Bill through reveal the religious animosity of the Qaid-i-Azam.

The League-administered Governments in helping Britain to the full left no stone unturned in harming the Indian and in particular the Moslem interests. In Bengal the League Government was responsible for the death of lakhs of human beings. Mr. Amery admits of a loss of 19 lakhs of lives while the newspapers put the figures at 90 lakhs or above. This is the province in which the Moslem population is greater in number and poorer in means than in any other province. And naturally the poor Moslems were the common victims of that calamity. (*See* the Woodhead Commission's Report on the Bengal Famine.)

The Moslem League ministries enriched their friends, relatives and ministers by giving them contracts and brought about the impoverishment of the masses through "control", etc. Profiteering was so tremendous during the tenure of their office that it has no parallel either in the days of the

Congress rule or in those provinces which were directly ruled by the Governors.

An article under the heading "A Sensational Statement of an Office-holder of the General Body of the League" was published in the *Ajmal* Daily of January 15 (1945)'s issue which says:

"Some League governments established syndicates for the purchase of grain and offices for commercial transactions which are in itself connected with the ministries. And in the days of these League governments, internal defects and bribery are so common that one can hardly find an equal of them in the history of India. These unhealthy influences have created great confusion and consternation among the Leaguers. And they realise the fact that if this evil is not prevented soon enough, then the Moslem League will face great difficulties during the next election campaign, and the shouts of the unity of the Moslems will have no meaning."... But no prevention of it has taken place so far and the matters stand as before.

LEAGUE STRANGLES PAKISTAN

The Qaid-i-Azam himself and the League High Command drew up the Lucknow Pact in 1916 and thus strangled the interests of the Moslem-majority provinces A proviso was made that in the Punjab the Moslem seats should be reduced from 55 per cent to 50 per cent, and in Bengal from 53 per cent to 40 per cent. As opposed to this Moslem seats were increased in the Moslem-minority provinces but this did not benefit the Moslems much, because in those areas the Moslem minority was so small that even in spite of this weightage great gap was left over. Thirteen seats were added to in Bombay and altogether the limit was raised to 33 per cent. Similarly in U.P. it were raised to 20 per cent from 16 per cent, in Bihar from 19 per cent to 29 per cent, in Madras from 8 per cent to 15 per cent and in C P. and Berar from 11 per cent to 15 per cent. But what was the advantage? On the other side the Moslem-majority provinces were subjected to so great a loss that they are suffering even up to this day. This Pact was given

effect to through the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and Moslems everywhere were reduced to a helpless condition.

"In the Calcutta Convention of 1929 Mr. Jinnah had said in a very clear and well-defined voice that the increase of the Moslem members in the majority provinces meant that the rich should be made still more rich, and that it would be more accurate to increase the number of the Moslem members in the Moslem-minority provinces."*

JINNAH-EUROPEAN CLIQUE

In 1931 Qaid-i-Azam and other Leaguers made a pact with the European Association (which is the greatest enemy of political freedom in India). So many seats were given to them in excess of their rights that, when as a result of the settlement effected by the Unity Board, Allahabad, it was decided to give 51 per cent to the Moslems in Bengal, then there was no alternative except the taking of 3 seats from the European Association. But how could they

* *Roshan Mustaqbil*, p 434.

agree? At last Premier MacDonald separately fixed 31 seats for the Europeans and Christians, and for ever Moslems and Hindus were made a minority in Bengal. Please pause for a while whether those people are the friends of the Moslems and loyal to them or traitors and untrustworthy. And what is the reality of the shouts being raised?

INSTRUMENT OF IMPERIALISM

The *New Statesman and Nation* (14th December, 1940) writes a long article in which he offers an advice to his country and nation. Extracts from that article are penned below for your reference:

"Lord Linlithgow has characterised the Moslem League as the only representative body of the Moslems of India. . . . His claim is that for the last some months its membership has increased to a considerable extent. This can be all true, because due to the august patronage this has become the biggest organisation of the country after the Congress . . . . . . If this offer of ours is friendly that India

should be given Dominion Status after the war, we shall have to take some step to that end. But if we are to make Mr. Jinnah only our instrument of policy who is ever prepared to sign some absurd and useless agreement and thus exonerate us from moral responsibility towards India, then we will never do this. If the doubts about our aims are increasing and we do not make any effort to remove the impression that we are playing the old game of *divide et imperia*, then it means that in the near future we are harbouring the danger of losing India."*

BRITAIN PAYS MOSLEM LEAGUE

Mr. Chaman Lal, a well-known Indian journalist, delivered a long speech at a restaurant of the Sind Secretariat at Karachi, the following extract from which is worth noting:

"Apart from this the British Ambassy of America publishes pamphlets in England in favour of Pakistan and these are sent free of cost to America to be distributed

* The *Madina* (Bijnor)—March 13, 1941.

free to the people. Add to this a Moslem League has been established in America. Some Mr. Ahmed is in charge of that. He is paid salary on behalf of the British Ambassy." *

JINNAH OBEYS WAVELL

The following is an extract from the Jinnah-Wavell correspondence in connection with the Simla Conference which is worth noting:

"17th July, Dear Lord Wavell,—On the last day of the Conference I put before the Working Committee the proposal made by you. After great deliberations it was decided that the view-point of the Committee be put before you which is as follows:

"'In August, 1940, when your predecessor Lord Linlithgow had made a similar proposal and the Working Committee rejecting it had sent its own objections to the scheme, then Lord Linlithgow considering these objections to be correct had withdrawn his first offer and instead of it he made a new offer in a letter

*The *Milap* (Lahore)—January 16, 1945.

the substance of which is as follows:

"'Reflecting over the objections raised and the difficulties mentioned by you, I have arrived at this conclusion that so far as the Moslem League is concerned, it does not stand in the need of presenting a list of Executive Committee members but the matter of framing the list should be decided in a secret agreement between the president of the organisation and myself.'

"*The Moslem League accepted this* alternative Even now the Committee believes that so far as the Moslem League is concerned in respect of drawing up of list the Moslem League may be treated according to the procedure laid down before."*

The above extract clearly reveals the secret conspiracy between the ex-Viceroy and Mr. Jinnah.

BRITAIN'S BELOVED ORGANISATION

Now the reply to your question is that the Moslem League is such an organisation which is loved by Britain and whose beloved Britain is. In other words it

*The *Madina* (Bijnor)—July 21, 1945.

influences Britain and Britain has influence over it. Its impressive office-bearers are peace-loving, prestige-seeking, enemies of Indian freedom, supporters and props of British imperialism, ignorant of Islamic religion and culture, anxious for their own interests, and deceivers of the general body of the Mussulmans.

Your second question is: "What is the advantage of the Moslem League that the people at once recognise it to be a useful body?"

When the League High Command deceiving the masses shows up Islam and the Moslems in danger from the Hindus and the Congress, it intentionally avoids to mention the destructive and inimical policy of Britannia. It is joined up in a secret and, to a certain extent, obvious help to Britain Then naturally the contention is that the masses who are not accustomed to think deeply over the facts and are in the habit of being fast swayed on by the sentiments (conflict is instincuive to them; there are far less dangers in seeking conflict with the Hindus than those which are to be faced in

case of fighting with the English) would consider this invitation of the League to be fair and desirable and accept it *en masse.* These very masses were in the Khilafat movement which represented quite different ideas.

Now I come to your third question: "What is wrong with the League that your grace and eminence do not consider it good and is being subjected to the condemnation of the people?"

From the above brief discourses every man, who is well-informed, truth-loving and well-versed in religious codes, would come to the definite conclusion that joining the League is not only unworthy but also a very great sin; and that it is against the best interests of a self-respecting nation as also against religious, worldly and political expediency. The codes of religion would certainly advise one to save oneself from this pollution.

WHAT THE CONGRESS STANDS FOR?

Through your fourth question you like to know the definition of the Congress.

The Congress is the one organisation of all the people living in India which, without the distinctions of religion, race, colour, language or country, considers it its duty to get back the lost political and natural rights. Its clear-cut aim is to set India free from the British rule. Every Indian can become its member. So far nine of its presidents have been Moslems, six Christians, four Parsees and the rest Hindus. It was established in 1885. Sixty years have passed since its inception. Moslems have joined it since its very existence. Late Maulana Abdul Qadir Ludhianvi published in his journal *Takrat-ul-Ahrar* the dicta of all the Indian *ulemas* (Moslem learned men) of the time regarding the advantages and blessings of participation in the Congress. This journal can be had from Maulana Mufti Mohammed Naeem Ludhianvi. Hazrat Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi's dictum about participation in the Congress is also contained in the same journal.

Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani, who is the head of the Department of Poli-

tical Science in Osmania University, has introduced the Congress and the Moslem League in the following two passages :

"(*a*) *Congress.*—The existence of party politics in India before the inception of the Congress in 1884 is not recorded. The Congress was one such office which first of all presented before the British Government its demands in an ordered way. Due to this the Indian people got some election rights in 1909.

"(*b*) *Moslem League.*—There were three groups in India. The third group was that which was politically nearmost in alliance to Britain. The fourth were the Moslems who were asked by Sir Syed Ahmed to remain aloof from politics. These Moslems united in 1906 and laid the foundation of the League in an organised way. The aim of the League was to secure their rights by joining the Britain."

THE CHAINS OF SLAVERY

Your fifth question is · "What are the advantages of the Congress that your honour takes it to be a useful body? We have not received the innermost meaning of your mind. If, anyhow, we get at anything, it is this that you have collaborated with the Hindus I swear that I am ashamed of framing this charge against you. But in fact, this is not my intention; I simply like to understand the true position. And I am sure that your honour will give sympathetic consideration and will try to make me understand the situation in an affectionate manner."

You know that we are the inhabitants of India. Our civic and national rights in this country are the same as are being enjoyed by the English in England, Frenchmen in France, Americans in America, Japanese and Chinese in Japan and China and every other nation in its country; whether those rights pertain to trade or agriculture, the constitutional affairs or exchequer, education

or military, internal affairs or external. But in this country the British imperialism has conquered us and so tightly woven up the chains of slavery that we are reduced to a condition of absolute abjectness, poverty, starvation, nay even to dying and near-dying conditions. British imperialism pursues the policy that India is for Britain from top to bottom, from beginning to end. Everything in India will be sacrificed to the British Empire. If anything is left, that will be devoted to the British nation. And what is still left of this will be exploited by the Europeans. And what is there after that will be bequeathed to the Anglo-Indians. And the crumbs of these spoils will be made over to the Indians.

POLICY OF DESPOTISM

This policy of despotism, not from today but from the very beginning, has driven India from bad to worse. Sir William Digby writes in his book entitled *Prosperous British India*: "The shortcomings which are clear to our eyes

in the matter of the method of government in 1901, so far as the Indians are concerned and whatever extraordinary poverty is spreading in the sub-continent of India, are the outcome of our that mode of administration which was started earlier due to good intentions, but in a mistaken way, and has been kept in practice even up till now. These laws of Government are of three kinds :

1. *Occupation through trade and openly taking away the Indian wealth through a declared policy* (1700—1757). To make you understand it clearly I quote below a passage from a memoir of the Directors of the East India Company: 'In our view this huge wealth that we have secured through trade with India is the result of cruel and oppressive practices. These practices are such that one could not find their parallel anywhere in the world, not at any time in history.'
2. *Control by force and adopting the*

policy that India is for England, from beginning to end (1758—1832).

3. *Ostentation of good-naturedness and essential keeping of Indian people in degrading condition by force* (1833—1901)

But there is no doubt that India is being plundered today even in a more shameful way than that it has ever been robbed before. The thin whip of our early government has become an iron chain. The loot of Clive and Hastings is nothing as compared to this taking away of the wealth which, with its daily exploitation, is bleeding white one country in order to enrich the other."* In short the imperialists resorted to such abnoxious tactics from the very beginning and this is being renewed even today, so that a place which for its natural wealth could be figuratively described as paradise became the very hell on earth. Famine and poverty stalked the land.

* Taken from *Khush-hali Bartanvi Hind* (an Urdu translation of *Prosperous British India*)

Hungry and naked people swarmed it. It became a graveyard of tens of millions of people dying of hunger. Intellectual folly and darkness ringed round the country while degradation and lack of moral strength were not uncommon, and absence of training in crafts was found to be universal, while unemployment raged wild. Natural rights were taken away from the inhabitants of this country and they were made more helpless and abject than the animals. This was true of the average Hindustani As for the Moslems who ruled over this country for over a thousand years, this place was a holyland for them. The flag of Islam was raised high while in contrast to it the flags of infidels and atheists were pulled down. The imperialists sought to introduce various kinds of dissensions in order to strangle out the existence of the Moslem kings and the nabobs. The standards of Islam were put down while those of the atheists flew high instead, and India became a free field for them. Not only this, but in order to foster slavery in India, Hindustani aid was

secured to subdue and control various Islamic countries. And then came the high-handed policy of the expulsion of Moslems from all departments of State and instead filling them with Hindus (*See* the journal entitled *Hindustani Mussulman* by W. W. Hunter.)

Now think it over as to what are the forceful elements ranged against Islam, the Moslems and after that the Hindustanis. Are these the Hindus or the foreign domination? When this point is brought home to one, then one might as well ask oneself whether according to the reckoning of all standards of diplomacy, religious code, state-craft and honesty, does it not become a duty to get rid of such slavery, helplessness and ruin? And as far as one can advance one should do it and not hesitate from doing it. This is the objective of the Congress. And day and night the struggle goes on for this purpose. Whatever is achieved today by way of government jobs, is a result of the success of democratic principles; and whatever few places radiate

the highlight of freedom, owe their existence to the Congress If you reflect a little more, you will feel that this duty is even more obligatory on Moslems as compared to Hindus or others in India The reasons are not far to seek. But the Congress struggle, though slackening at times, is abnoxious to the existence of the British prestige and imperialism, and even more for the average Briton particularly the reactionary and the despotic *This is apparent that they did everything* against the Congress from the very beginning.

FORCES AGAINST FREEDOM

First of all individual efforts were made by Mr. Beck (an English Principal of the Aligarh College) to approach the people separately and to make them hostile to the Congress. In particular, the late Sir Syed Ahmed was brought in the opposition group. Then Sir Auckland Collin, the then Governor of the United Provinces, was brought forward to stand in opposition to the Congress. But these

plans having failed the collective efforts were instituted. Hence, in August, 1888, the United Patriotic Association was formally opened in Aligarh and the following aims were formulated :

(*a*) Informing the people of England and in particular the members of the Parliament, through newspapers and other communications, that all the communities, rich men and rulers of States were not participant in the Congress; and repudiating the wrong statements issued by the Congress.

(*b*) Intimating the members of the Parliament and other Britishers about the ideas of the Moslem and Hindu organisations of India who were inimical to the Congress.

(*c*) Directing the efforts towards the maintenance of law and order in India and strengthening of the British rule, and removing the ideas of the Congress from the minds of the people of India.

In 1890 a memorandum was submitted to the Parliament by Mr. Beck under the signatures of 20,735 persons The memorandum said that the instituting of electoral system or democratic system in India was inexpedient because it was a country in which various kinds of people lived This memorandum was sent to repudiate the demand of the Congress for democratic government in India In order to get the memorandum signed Mr. Beck himself proceeded to Delhi and waited on the gates of Jame Masjid and got the signatures from the incoming congregation through the media of the students saying that the Hindus wanted the end of cow slaughter. In 1893 was instituted the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India because the Hindus had well-sensed the aims of the Patriotic Society and had gradually parted ways with it, and for this reason the Mohammedans were particularly sought to be instrumentalised. . . . The aims of this newly-founded association were:

(*a*) To defend the political rights of

the Moslems by putting forward before the Angrez and the Government of India the opinions of the Moslems.

(*b*) Preventing the spread of the general political insurrection among the Moslems.

(*c*) Helping in such plans which are directed towards the strengthening of the British Empire, making efforts to promote peace in India, and encouraging the sentiments of loyalty among the people.

After establishing this association Mr. Beck proceeded to England where he delivered a lecture at the headquarters of the Anjuman-i-Islamian-i-Hind, London, which was published in the *National Review*, and the translation of which was published in instalments in the issues of March, 1895, of the Aligarh College Magazine. The substance of that lecture is as below :

" It is possible to secure unity between the Moslems and the British but there is no scope for it between the Hindus and

the Moslems. The people of India join issue on the subject of religion No lessening of the dissensions among the Hindus and the Moslems is to be found. The contrary fact is that the people who are believers in these religions are on inimical terms among themselves and animosity is on the increase. The Moslems are proud of Aurangzeb but those who believe in Guru Gobind Singh and Shivaji hate this name. Between the two nations friendly relations are difficult of achievement. At the moment there are thousands of castes among the Hindus who reckon this as a sin. It is, therefore, impossible of achievement in India that the people of this country should unite and institute a democratic government to rule over them."

THE SONG OF COMMUNALISM

What is sung as a song of Hindu-Moslem disunity by Mr. Beck is absolutely wrong. It is a fruit borne out of the British efforts. This fruit was sown in India in order to perpetuate the most

unjust British rule and the Indians were made to eat this fruit. Before the advent of the British rule in India disunity was non-existent here Mr. W M. Tarns writes in his book *Imperialism in Asia* :

"Shivaji is described as prejudiced and Sultan Tippo as strictly religious man. But when we entered the Southern States, such religious differences were unknown to them....Exactly at that time, in every city and also at the Royal Court of India, the Hindus and the Moslems were free to carry on their competition in the field of earning, capital and securing honours and vying with each other in this matter."*

Similarly John Maynard and other historians say that before the advent of the British the feelings of hatred and mutual distrust were not present in the Indian scene. Now these matters are there because of the British propagation of mal-education.

Extracts from the speech which Mr. Beck delivered at the opening of his associa-

*Translated from Urdu version

tion are note-worthy :

" For some years two kinds of agitations are in full swing in the country. The one pertains to the Indian National Congress and the other is the movement for stopping the murder of the cows. The first movement is naturally and intrinsically against the British whereas the second one is against the Moslems. The objectives of the National Congress are that the political government be taken away from the British and given over to some sections of the Hindus. The ruling class should be weakened, arms should be given to the people, the army should be reduced in number, and the Frontier defences weakened so as to decrease the military expenditures Due to these revolts, the Moslems and the British both are being equally victimised. The Moslems and the English should, therefore, join hands and face up these movements. They must put forth every joint effort to prevent the establishment of the democratic state in the country which is not suitable to Indian conditions. Therefore, at this

moment, all our endeavours should be directed to the preaching of the real fidelity, unity and practicality."*

THE SONG OF EMPIRE

Mr. Beck, in order that he may turn Moslems hostile to Congress, continued his intense and all-out struggle. Tremendous repercussions of it were felt by Sir Syed Ahmed himself and other educational workers of the Aligarh College and other educated Moslems, on account of which they had turned hostile to the Congress and the Hindus to a considerable extent. Due to these very reasons Sir Arthur Strachey (a member of the conservative Anglo-Indian community) published an article (in the *Aligarh Monthly*, 1899) on the death of Mr. Beck, sentences from which are worth quoting :

" One such Englishman has died who was busy in far-off countries in building up the Empire. He gave his life like a soldier while discharging his duty. The Moslems are a suspicious community.

**Roshan Mustaqbil*, p. 38.

Therefore, when Mr. Beck came first, their attitude was inimical. Their first view was that Mr. Beck had come with the appointment of a spy to the British Government. But such was the effect of his simple-mindedness and selfless habits that gradually the Moslems inclined to pin faith in him."*

After the death of Mr. Beck which occurred in 1899, Mr. Morris was appointed the Principal of the Aligarh College. He was already on the staff of the college in the capacity of a professor. When, to give vent to the anti-Congress activities, the Indian Patriotic Association was formed, Mr. Morris had opened a branch of the association in England at his own house, so that he might do political propaganda on behalf of the Moslems in his own country. He had also worked side by side with Mr. Beck in the matter of the educational and political achievements of the Moslems.

As in his fifteen-year term of principalship Mr. Beck had guided the Moslems,

*Roshan Mustaqbil, p 296.

therefore after this Mr. Morris too, while acting on the same job, followed, in political matters, truly in the footsteps of his predecessor, and worked in that manner for five years. After him came Mr. Erich Bold due to whose efforts and those of Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, a delegation was called to Simla. In that delegation, Moslem aristocrats, titled gentlemen and propertied persons participated totalling thirty-five in number. Sir Aga Khan came straight from England to preside over this conference. And having reached Simla he discharged the functions of presidentship in the presence of Lord Minto, reading out the address the draft of which was prepared by Colonel Dunlop. With this deputation the League emerged for the first time as a political body on the Indian horizon.

VICEROY PATRONISES LEAGUE

From the aforesaid brief discussions, you can judge it very well that numerous tricks have been resorted to by

the British diplomats, and the process of such activities still continues. The Moslem League is one such creation of the British diplomacy, and is being patronised by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, and the Secretary of State for India. To be brief, the crime of the Congress is that it wants to end imperialism in India and likes to see India entirely free. This no doubt means the death for the conservatives of Britain in every way. Whatever step the Congress may take the imperialism suffers acute reverses. But since Britannia, due to its past claims of freedom and other international reasons and previous promises and declarations, is unable to crush the Congress movement, it is juggling in the form of so-called plans and offers. In this connection should be mentioned the establishment of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Moslem League; the latter having been formed in the same year as the former (1906) constituted a parallel organisation to it.

You might also have clearly understood as to what is the real cause of join-

ing the League in large groups of such men as Nabobs, Knights, Taluqadars, Khan Bahadurs, Khah Sahibs, with their all disciples and camp-followers of the Government. It is the propaganda of these very people which has misled the Moslem masses. These poor creatures neither know the truth nor have the ability to find out the truth in the pages of the history of the past.

It is a common observation that the people frame their attitude according to the ideas of the monarch, and that if the king makes a particular move, the people follow him. The Arabic saying is that the ways and manners of the kings reflected more often in those of the people.

Since long the Britons are proclaiming from the house-tops the world over that *they are believers in freedom and democracy but what could they do since the Indians are greatly divided among themselves and they have neither a united programme nor trust each other, nor do the minorities in India enjoy satisfaction at*

the hands of the majority. Therefore, if they leave India, it would necessarily mean the ruin of the Moslem minority. The cause of that utter ruin would be the Hindu majority the voice against which is being raised by the Moslem League and its Qaid-i-Azam. Looking at the day-to-day events, could you not observe that the Moslem League has tried to thwart the plans of Indian freedom and has thus greatly benefited the British imperialism? Great indeed is the loss sustained by the freedom movement. And added to that are the days of slavery that still lie ahead of India We have to thank League for that.

Your next question is: "In what respect does the Congress err politically that the people do not think well of it?"

The arguments above amply supply an answer to this question. My description of Congress could be summed up in a few words. The Congress is denounced because it wants to end British imperialism lock, stock and barrel. It sounds annihilation of the interests of British

imperialism. This is where the shoe pinches the conservative Briton. Therefore all methods of political warfare are used to create bad blood between the Indians and the Congress, and the help of the British henchmen in India is freely secured to this end. But when these wire-pullings failed, a magic wand was sought to be moved over the head of the Moslems. This hit the bull's eye. The result is obvious enough.

JINNAH REQUIRES NO FREEDOM

In your next question you state that according to your reckoning you have been led up to believe the Congress and the League to be such twin organisations as want to free India from the British yoke, benefit their communities materially and frame laws according to the consensus of their opinion. Your reasoning is correct about the Congress but errs about the League. The elucidations above explain away this error of judgment. These elucidations confirm the opinion expressed by the *Roy's Weekly* in its Diary

that Mr. Jinnah does not want the freedom of India. The above paper refers to a book by an American correspondent and quotes him as having said to Gandhiji in the course of an interview: "How tremendously regretful it is that the Congress and the League share table for discussions with Sir Stafford Cripps but would not talk among themselves" Gandhiji is said to have retorted in reply that it was not only regretful but also shameful. He accused the League as responsible for that. For when the War began they were called to an audience by Linlithgow. Gandhiji and Rajen Babu went as representatives of the Congress while Mr. Jinnah represented the League there The Congress leaders are said to have asked Mr. Jinnah that they should join together in their demand for freedom. But Mr. Jinnah is credited with the reply that he did not require freedom for India.*

Mr. Jinnah has himself referred to the fundamentals of the matter and said

*The *Madina* (Bijnor)—April 13, 1944.

that direct action against Britain was contrary to the Islamic interests. (*See* the *Ajmal* of Bombay, January 17, 1945.) The demands of the League have been cold-shouldered and neglected by the Government times without number. But the League has not taken to any path of action involving renunciation of comfort and easy living. The Qaid-i-Azam is also not credited with any sacrifice in the political field. How could there be any success if browbeating were the only weapon in politics? If constitutional protests could win freedom, great wars could certainly have not happened. Fine words butter no parsnips.

The last part of your letter says: "In your benign opinion the League moves should be countered by the combined strength of the Moslem *ulemas* (learned men). You also disbelieve in League and, on the other hand, have faith in the organisation of the *ulemas* with whose strength combined with that of the Congress you like to win freedom. The *ulemas*, you say, are well-acquainted with the religious codes of Islam and that the laws con-

ceived and framed by them will in fact be the religious code of the Mussulmans. Therefore, in this you see the advantage of the Moslems while you charge the League leaders as having no acquaintance with the religious codes and say that framing of laws by them would not be Islamic. So in pursuance of your version I feel inclined that the League is inimical to the religious code. I also feel that your benign opinion stands in the interest of Islam."

UNREALISTIC CONCEPTION

Your conception is unrealistic, my comrade. We harbour no enmity towards the League nor towards any other Moslem organisation. We regard all Moslems as brothers and consider it our duty to serve them according to our resources. This has been our principle both individually and collectively and the same principle is prevalent among us even up to this day. When the Khilafat Committee was instituted we, the *ulemas*, joined it out of our heart's desire. We never

demanded offices and power. We cared a fig for administrative jobs in the Committee. We honestly discharged our duties in whatever posts we were appointed. There was not even a single complaint in which we had ever urged for a higher post. The history of the Khilafat is before you. You can verify my statement from that. No doubt we remained aloof from the League but the reason for that was that it was a pro-British, orthodox and selfish organisation. But when in 1936-37 we were invited by its leaders and they held out the promise of freedom of thought and gave us the assurance that the opinion of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind would be respected, in the religious matters, we took the Leaguers at their words and became full partners of the League in the practical struggle. So much so that the big and small office-holders of the League could not furnish parallel of such a conduct. But when we saw that the promises were being given the go-bye, nay intentionally and avowedly broken up, then we could not but think of

separation from the League Even so we did not kick up a row or make any aggressive or hostile move to check the political action of the League, nor did we resort to any abuse, invective or deception. We rather carried on our work with patience, content and satisfaction. We were subjected to all kinds of violence. Malicious pamphlets, articles and booklets were distributed Every description of speeches and addresses were circulated. Abuse, invective, deception, fraud, lie, insult and humiliation were resorted to against us But we did not think it wise to respond, retaliate or react against the League, because this goes against Islamic culture and codes of human civility.

DIVIDE ET IMPERIA

From the previous writings, which are in fact few in number, you could have judged that in framing of the laws, intentional moves were made against Islam and religion. If the assemblies and councils limited their work to the material and worldly affairs, then it was possible that

the matter could be overlooked. But these people presented Bills about religious topics and got them passed. We made protests but these were not heeded to. Although in some cases we achieved success and in others success was partial, yet ours was an utter failure in most of the matters such as Sharda Bill, Shariat Bill, Khula Bill, Qazi Bill and the Bill about the diet of the Hajis, etc.

These gentlemen are not only ignorant but pride openly in the fact that they destroyed the prestige of the *ulemas*. They also proclaim that till existence of religious-minded people is ended and the religion is relegated to background, Moslems cannot prosper. They also believe in the abolition of the purdah of the women, etc. Notwithstanding they claim the sole representation of the Moslems. Now you may say what is the remedy? ...... We consider it well that the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind should guide the Moslems in matters of political and religious affairs. Moslems, unless they hold fast to the religion, cannot move forward. If, anyhow, they leave aside

religion and achieve tremendous progress, it could not be called the progress of Islam We do not see political well-being and prosperity for the Indian Moslems without achieving independence for the country. It is clear therefore that the slavery is proving the ruin of the Moslems in India and abroad. You say that a great amount of disaffection prevails among the people against myself which is causing no end of disquiet to your mind. There is no reason to worry, my dear comrade; these are the traditions of Islam. What sufferings were not inflicted on the Great Prophet? Those who try to spread discontent among the public against myself and my colleagues indulge in the British propaganda. This is but an age-old tradition of *divide et imperia* which the British have adopted for centuries, though the substance of this policy and the methods of action vary at times. May the simple Mussulmans understand the truth and discriminate between the friend and foe!